

Although most categories of workers dropped in numbers, some categories such as clerical, retail, and the service industry, lost fewer workers than did the skilled artisans, cotton industry, and railroad worker categories. The number of industrial workers increased, possibly reflective of the city's changing nature as an industrial city that needed skilled industrial workers, regardless of race. Employment in the maritime trades also increased by a single worker, but the occupational titles reflected in the broad category reflected some growth in maritime trades for black workers. In 1897, maritime workers were deck hands and boatmen. By 1900, some workers had achieved the higher paying, more rewarding, status of captains and pilots.

An interesting shift occurred within the professional category in the 1900 directory. Although the overall figure increased, the detailed data is mostly reflective of a loss of educators. By 1900, there were only 16 educators identified in the directory as compared to 33 in 1897. The city had lost only one African American principal and the "professor" remained. The overall decrease in the number of education professionals was offset by an influx of ministers; the city saw an increase to a total of 40 ministers across denominations from 13 in 1897. It is unknown why so many ministers came to the city following the violence, particularly since the number of churches remained constant.¹⁶

African American Entrepreneurship

Analysis of the directory data compiled by Hamilton shows that a number

of the city's African American entrepreneurs, men and women who owned and operated their own businesses or worked independently, experienced a decline in occupational status in the years immediately following the riot. However, the evidence shows that a few other entrepreneurial-minded individuals managed to overcome challenges and improved their lot by opening new businesses in the year following the violence.¹⁷

In order to more fully comprehend the business nature of the city, the computerized directory lists generated by Hamilton at the Institute of African American Research at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill were again consulted. In both directories there were a considerable number of entries for men and women who provided a second address for their businesses. In 1897, there were 102 business addresses provided for African American establishments such as grocery stores, barbershops, restaurants, butcher shops, shoe shops, and other establishments that required a storefront. By 1900, however, the number dropped to 78, indicating a significant decline in the number of black-owned businesses with secondary addresses in a business district. In 1897, most addresses for black-owned businesses were in the primary business district along South Front, North Second, Market, and Princess Streets. By 1900, the orientation of the black businesses had changed. Not only were the businesses different, but many were also relocated. The greatest numbers of businesses were in the traditionally African American

(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 53-57, 208.

¹⁶ More study of the ministers, on an individual level, both before and after the riot, is needed in order to determine if new ministers arrived in the city from elsewhere after 1897 or, instead, that current residents became ministers.

¹⁷ Cody and another researcher in the Office of Archives and History, Dennis Daniels, studied the business section of the city directory to find trends in business ownership among African Americans before and after the violence. Both researchers saw a reduction in overall occupations and numbers of businesses. For a more detailed analysis of city directory data, see Appendix.